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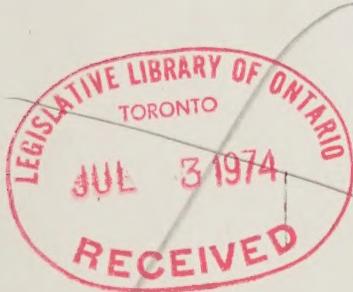
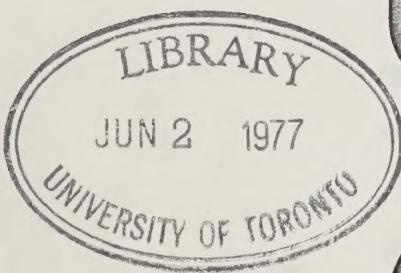
Government
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the case for

background studies on day care
(Sess. pap. 81)



universal day care

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INTRODUCTION

The need for large scale group care for children has recently caught the interest of many people. The Royal Commission on the Status of Women brought to light the many hazardous and otherwise poor care arrangements that children are submitted to because of a lack of decent day care facilities.

If a mother has to work due to economic necessity, she has to have day care for her children. If day care centres are not available, these children are entrusted to relatives or strangers, and for some the arrangements are completely inadequate and even harmful. 1

In the last year alone, there have been numerous forums and meetings about the right to day care, and people are beginning to organize around this issue. So aroused is public opinion on day care that few politicians will be able to avoid stating their position on it.

Most of us now realize that group child care is beneficial to children. This realization comes largely as a result of women's increasing participation in the work force, a trend which promises to continue. The old myths and misconceptions about women will be greatly altered by their work experience.

This booklet is meant to provide information about many aspects of day care in Canada; for example, what is universal public day care, who should pay for it, and how do we get it? We hope that it will help to elucidate some of the ideas and problems surrounding the issue. It should be used to encourage thoughts, discussion, and action.

1. Report on the Royal Commission on The Status of Women in Canada, 1970 p. 266.

WHAT IS A DAY CARE CENTRE?

A day care centre is a place where children are cared for by trained staff in a group situation. A day care centre is *not* a babysitting arrangement, but a place where the mental, physical, and emotional development of children is encouraged. A day care centre offers a full day programme, while a nursery school offers half day care.

In Ontario, day care centres are supervised by the Day Nurseries Branch of the Ontario Department of Family and Social Services, and come under the Ontario Day Nurseries Act. This act regulates such things as staff and health requirements, the amount of indoor and outdoor play area required per child, the type of equipment and furnishings needed, etc.

There are three types of day care centres:

- (1) Private or Commercial Day Care. These are centres operated by private individuals for profit together with private non-profit day care. They make up 85% of day care in Ontario.
- (2) Private, non-profit day care. These centres are operated by non-profit agencies; for example, churches, United Appeal, and parents' groups in Canada.
- (3) Municipal day care. These centres are operated by the welfare or social services departments of municipal governments, and make up 15%¹ of day care in Ontario and *only 2% in Canada as a whole*. Project Day Care is an Ontario government programme which is presently constructing 64 full day nurseries in the province. If the amount of private day care remains unchanged, the proportion

1. Information supplied by the Ontario Day Nurseries Branch.

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of public care in Ontario will rise to approximately 30% of the total from this temporary programme. More will be said about Project Day Care later.

Day care centres at this time are available only to the wealthy parents who can pay the costs of this care, or to some of those people who can "prove" that they are needy, and receive subsidy. They are inaccessible to the average working parent, or to the mother wanting to look for work.

WHO NEEDS DAY CARE CENTRES?

WORKING MOTHERS DO

A great number of studies carried out in the past few years have documented the desperate need for day care in Canada. The facts speak for themselves:

* In 1970, 58% of all employed women were married. The figure is higher for Ontario.¹

* 82% of the 125,000 one-parent families in Ontario, in 1966, were headed by women.

* In Ontario during 1970 there were 135,000 children under six whose mothers worked; for whom there are at present less than 10,000² places in full day care, private and municipal.

Mothers who cannot find adequate day care services must spend many hours searching for suitable care arrangements with private sitters and, of course, pay for this from their own usually inadequate wages. In 1971 the government allowed mothers to deduct their child care expenses from their taxable income.

However, the women who care for these children in their homes must now declare

1. Eastman, Working Women in Ontario, 1970.

2. Day Nurseries Branch.

this income. The government will gain extra tax revenue in this venture from those who are least likely to be able to afford it.

Often, arrangements are made with mothers who have their own child care and housework responsibilities. Despite their good intentions, their own domestic responsibilities and lack of training leave them little time or energy to devote to the children's development. Usually they are caring for these children to make extra money they could not otherwise earn. In other cases, young women, untrained for other jobs, work as full time babysitters. Still other parents must arrange their work lives to ensure child care; ie., we found that many women work the evening shift while their husbands take care of the children. The result is that the parents seldom see each other and have little time for relaxation and social activities.

MOTHERS AT HOME DO

Official estimates of the need for day care usually look at the needs of mothers already in the work force and ignore the needs of women at home. Since World War II we have seen the rapid rise of half day nursery schools initiated by mothers who recognized day care as an important educational experience for their children; or who felt the need for time away from the children. Nursery schools, however, are expensive; and so the educational experience for their children and the freedom for the mothers is *not* accessible to most families.

Another important group of mothers at home are those who *would* enter the labour force, continue their education, or take job retraining if good day care were widely available. Right now, the expense and poor quality of child care arrangements give many women little choice but to remain at home until their

children reach school age; even when that second income is often necessary for the family to enjoy a decent standard of living. For single parents the need is obviously even more acute. The fact that more and more women are re-entering the work force once their children are school age suggests a growing interest in working on the part of women. *Until we have good quality day care centres available to all women who want them, we cannot speak of women's free choice between home and work.*

CHILDREN DO

In recent years attitudes to the value of group child care have changed dramatically. Not so long ago the common belief was that "institutional" care, and separation from the mother of young children did irreparable damage. These attitudes were based on studies of children done in institutions such as orphanages. More recent evidence shows that the damage done to these children resulted from lack of human affection and even of cruel treatment.

Psychologists and other experts now agree that group care of children with staff in a supervised and loving environment contributes to the child's mental, emotional, and physical development. In addition there is a growing body of evidence showing that the view that children under two need a "mother figure" is unfounded. Children benefit positively from a stimulating environment and stable, loving relationships. In organizing their own nursery schools and co-operatives, parents have recognized that day care centres can provide rich experiences with other children and adults not usually available in the confines of the family.

However, the Department of Social and Family Services does not seem to have recognized a change in attitudes toward under-two day care. Almost no infant

care has been available in Ontario. Recently, one "experimental" public centre for 12-16 babies opened in East Toronto. When government officials at public forums have been challenged over the lack of infant care offered, they all too often have replied that women ought to be at home with their children, not going out to work for "luxuries" while avoiding their responsibilities.

Many parents and social workers are no longer asking if group child care is good for children; this has been proven in theory and in practice. They are saying that if day care is good for some children, then it is good for all children -- not just the "needy" and the wealthy.

UNIVERSAL DAY CARE --WHAT IS IT?

The term *UNIVERSAL DAY CARE* means day care facilities for everyone, regardless of income or economic status, who wants to make use of it. In other words, universal day care would be accessible to working and non-working mothers *regardless of income*. It would, therefore, require a large network of low-cost or no-fee day care centres. The government would necessarily play a large role.

A SHORT HISTORY OF THE GOVERNMENT'S ROLE IN DAY CARE

Before World War II day care centres were supported by charity and provided for some needy families where the mother had to work. Public support of day care began during the war when the demand for female labour was great. Under the War Time Day Nurseries Act, the federal and provincial governments split the

operating and capital costs of centres, each paying 50%. The surface of the need was only scratched, but under this programme a number of nurseries were quickly built in the industrial centres of Ontario. Many more make shift centres, with largely volunteer staffs, were set up to meet the crisis.

Government, however, was reluctant to assume a continuing responsibility for day care. Immediately after the war, three-quarters of the nurseries were closed down, despite mounting opposition by parents' groups. *To ensure that day care did not grow, the federal government withdrew its financial support, and called upon the municipalities to pay 50% of the operating costs of day care and all of the capital costs (ie., for construction and renovation).* This placed the burden on the level of government with the least revenue and effectively hindered the movement of parents trying to keep the wartime nurseries open. Between 1946 and 1960 the number of public day care centres in Toronto stayed static at 15.

During this same period the number of women, particularly married women, in the work force increased dramatically. Private operators saw the need and the chance to make profits, and set up day care centres.

Pressure from professional groups and parents eventually forced the government to take more responsibility. In 1966 the federal government again became involved in day care, this time under the Canada Assistance Plan. Under this welfare act the federal government paid 50% of the operating costs of day care for low income families, the province paid 30%, and the municipality 20%. In 1966, too, the province agreed to share the cost of renovating old buildings, although *not* to build new ones, for day care centres. In 1971 the province of Ontario finally undertook to pay 80% of the capital (land costs, construction of buildings, furnishing) costs of day care centres, leaving the municipality

20%. One million dollars was put aside for this purpose -- a very small amount indeed.

Parents in Ontario realized a small windfall during the 1971 provincial election. During his campaign Premier Davis designated \$10 million for the total capital costs of any child care centre which could be constructed by May 31, 1972. According to Project Day Care, 64 full day nurseries will be constructed in Ontario under this temporary programme. This will increase the capacity of public nurseries from approximately 2,200 to 5,000 in the province. Several months before the election, however, legislation was passed authorizing "Family Day Care" as a viable alternative.¹ This, we fear, is the real position of the provincial government toward "solving" the day care needs of Ontario parents. A section further on in the pamphlet is devoted to a discussion of home, or family day care.

The pressure of day care associations and parent's groups has improved government involvement over the past few years. However, the main problem still remains: the municipality, the level of government with the least revenue, must still initiate day care centres. Project Day Care estimates that the cost of building a 45-place nursery is \$155,400; 20% of which is still \$31,080. If Metropolitan Toronto wished to build centres for only another 5,000 of its pre school children, it would have to pay \$3½ million toward the total. This figure excludes the operating costs which would continue year after year. 20% is much less than the 100% of pre-1971, but it is still a large amount for any municipal budget. Municipalities do not have either the resources or the mandate to initiate mass day care. A federal long-term planning body and a national

¹ This is contained in Bill 110.

child care department is needed to back up such a large-scale project. The recommendation of the Royal Commission on the Status of Women that other provinces adopt the Ontario formulation and legislation does not solve the problem of the municipal role. If parents and children in Canada are to receive the day care they need, the federal and provincial governments must be forced to assume complete responsibility for the capital and operating costs of day care.

THE WELFARE APPROACH TO DAY CARE

Day care is now under the welfare departments at the federal (Canada Assistance Plan, Department of Health and Welfare), provincial (Day Nurseries Branch of the Social and Family Services), and municipal (Welfare Department of the City of Toronto) levels. The Royal Commission on the Status of Women was clear in its opposition to the welfare approach to day care.

"We believe the Canada Assistance Plan to be inappropriate because it is limited to welfare measures. We contend that a day care centre programme must be conceived on much broader lines. It must be designed for all families who need it and wish to use it. Nothing short of this kind of programme can give Canadian women the help they need in the vital task of caring for their children." 1

Despite this opposition, however, the Canadian government is likely to try and keep day care within the confines of the Canada Assistance Plan. As long as day care remains legislatively and administratively within welfare, government is committed to day care only for some low-income families and *not* to day care for all Canadian parents and children. Getting the federal and provincial governments to commit themselves to day care for all parents and children who need it will require a hard fight.

1 Report of the Royal Commission on the Status of Women in Canada, p. 27.

SHOULD DAY CARE COME UNDER THE DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION?

It has been suggested that day care be administered through the Department of Education and be considered an extension of the public school system. There are both pros and cons to this argument. Since public schools are usually located in the neighbourhood, parents could avoid the confusion of taking young children on crowded transit to and from their place of care each day. All the children, pre-school and school age, would be at the same place, close to home. Secondly, day care in the school would establish it as an accepted and universal right, like primary education, not as a charitable gift to needy families, or as a high-cost privilege to wealthy ones.

The problems with the Department of Education are largely financial. Education is administered provincially and has been financed mainly by municipal property taxes. Only in 1971 did the provincial government increase its share for the costs of education to 50%; still less in Metro Toronto. The provincial government's long-term goal is to cover two-thirds of these costs. This cost-sharing arrangement between the provincial and municipal governments has been a serious burden for the homeowners, as the necessary expenditures for education in our society continually rise. The additional tax levy for day care on homeowners would be impossible for them to bear. Also, this arrangement would leave day care as the responsibility of the province and municipalities, as it is now, for the most part.

A NATIONAL DAY CARE ACT

The Royal Commission on the Status of Women recommended that the federal government, in agreement with the provinces, adopt a National Day Care Act to provide the framework for financing and initiating a national day care programme. Of course,

because of the bi-national character of Canada, Quebec should develop its own system for mass day care. In doing this, it could simply receive a transfer of tax points from Ottawa. The Commission also recommended that each province set up a child-care board responsible for the establishment and supervision of day care centres and that National Health and Welfare establish a unit for consultation on child care services.

These recommendations correctly place the responsibility for initiating day care at the provincial rather than the municipal level, call for an important federal government role in financing day care, and for a National Day Care Programme with the federal government. The federal role could be strengthened even further with a Day Care or Child Care department. The winning of a National Day Care Act will be an important step in the fight for day care.

COST OF UNIVERSAL DAY CARE

John Humphrey, in his minority report to the Royal Commission on the Status of Women, estimated that if all pre-school Canadian children used day care facilities, the operating costs alone would be \$2½ billion per year. A rough estimate of those operating costs of universal day care for Toronto might be \$200 million annually.

Remember these figures *exclude* capital costs. The expense involved in the initial building and renovation of enough centres for all Canadian children would be very large indeed.

IS UNIVERSAL DAY CARE POSSIBLE?

Universal day care is an expensive proposition. The \$2½ billion mentioned above exceeds the 1971 defense budget of 1.8 billion. Therefore, such a decision would

require radical changes of priority in government spending.

The idea, however, that mass day care is an *impossible* financial burden -- that Canada could not afford it -- is ridiculous. A number of industrial countries in Europe, few as rich in potential as Canada, are setting out to build day care on a large scale. It is unthinkable that a country with the vast resources and industrial potential of Canada could not provide for its children's care.

HOW COULD DAY CARE BE FINANCED?

A number of ways for financing day care has been suggested. Here, we outline some of the advantages and disadvantages of the possible methods.

PARENTS' FEES?

One common suggestion is that the operating costs of day care be transferred directly to the parents, either through a flat rate per child, or on a sliding scale of fees based on the parents' income. Both these schemes require public funds (income tax revenue) to cover the capital costs.

The Royal Commission on the Status of Women suggests a sliding scale of fees combined with increased child care allowances. Under this plan, public funds would be required for the increased allowances, for the capital costs and for subsidies to low-income parents. Besides the stigma attached to subsidized families, two important disadvantages to this plan are (1) the increased burden to the tax payer and (2) the enormous bureaucratic costs required to constantly re-evaluate parents' changing incomes.

A more general criticism can be made of the proposal of financing day care through

parents' fees. A social service, be it highways, education, or day care should not be viewed only as the responsibility of its users. It is impractical and outdated to consider the care and education of the future generation of Canadians as the private responsibility of their parents. It is also useful to note that the 1967 median combined income of working parents was \$7,032.¹

INCOME TAXES?

The money for social welfare services in Canada comes primarily from taxes on the income of working people. Many Canadians feel that their income after taxes is barely adequate and in many cases inadequate for survival; and they resist further taxes recognizing that corporate income in Canada is taxed much less heavily than personal income, and that taxes on the income of working people often go to subsidize the operations of large American corporations in Canada. Governments could all too easily use the threat of increased personal income taxes to discourage us from demanding universal day care. Increased government support of day care will only be possible with substantial changes in the Canadian tax laws. *We must not permit the financial costs for day care to be placed on the already over-burdened tax payer.*

ORGANIZATIONS?

It has been suggested that trade unions provide day care for their members, financed by union dues. Although there is at least one such centre in Canada, this proposal has the same disadvantages as "parents' fees" and "increased income taxes".

Here also, the money would be drawn from the pockets of the wage earner. Leaving day care to be initiated and financed by organizations allows the government to abdicate its own responsibility for initiating this much-needed social service.

¹S.Ostry, *Working Mothers and their Child Care Arrangements*, 1967.

Of course, those unions who do seek to win day care from their employers during their negotiations should have our full support.

CORPORATION TAXES?

As a social service of benefit to all Canadians, day care should be financed out of the collective wealth of our society. Unfortunately, most of that wealth is at present under the control of a few large American corporations and not available to meet the needs of the Canadian people. The Canadian federal government has done virtually nothing to return even a fraction of this wealth to the people. Until last year Canada was the only western country with no capital gains tax. The recently legislated capital gains tax falls far short of what most other countries have instituted.

The United Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers of America, in their submission to the Royal Commission to the Status of Women, makes the following argument for corporate financing of day care:

The federal government should raise funds by means of a capital gains tax to provide revenues to the provincial governments to cover the costs of constructing and operating the centres and training the necessary staff...We suggest industry financing since it is industry that receives the benefit of women working. (emphasis added)

Taxes on corporate profits and the removal of tax exemptions and subsidies to American owned branch plants could provide the revenue for the government share of day care financing.

Corporations, as we know, are not passive in the defense of their enormous "piece of the pie." One of their common tactics is to pass on their increased costs to the consumer in higher prices. These attempts would have to be resisted by stringent federal government legislation.

ALTERNATIVES AND SUPPLEMENTS TO UNIVERSAL PUBLIC DAY CARE**PROFIT-MAKING DAY CARE**

Municipal and Provincial governments are making great use of private profit-making day care centres. Instead of building public day care facilities in the quantities in which they are needed, the municipal government "purchases services" for low-income families in privately run centres. Non-subsidized parents pay from 60 to 90 dollars a month per child for care. Under this system only the wealthy or a few of those who can "prove" that they are needy can take advantage of such programmes. *The majority of working parents are left out.*

Some people are suggesting that a solution to the day care crisis would be the expansion of private day care through low-interest loans or increased government subsidies. In the short run such a "solution" would save the government putting out money for capital expenditures. However, in the long run, *it is the parents and other tax payers who will be paying for these business enterprises.* In the United States, government subsidies to profit-making day care encouraged large corporations to develop chains of franchised day care on the model of Mac's Milk or chicken Delight. There is already at least one chain in Canada based in Winnipeg.

Private nurseries, like private schools, will continue to exist no matter what public day care is established. Some wealthy parents will no doubt wish their children to have a special private education. Such nurseries, however, should not be supported by tax payers through government subsidy.

Leaving day care in the hands of private enterprise would be the same thing as allowing business to run the school system. Why should young children be the source of profit for private enterprise?

FAMILY DAY CARE

Many social workers and government officials are suggesting that family day care is the solution to the lack of day care for children under two. Family day care is similar to private baby sitting, where one woman looks after her own children and the children of other families in her own home. The difference is that family day care will be supervised by a social welfare agency and will be eligible for government subsidy to low-income parents. Bill 110, passed in 1971, provides for provincial support of family day care, and although the regulations are not drawn up yet, welfare officials understand that they will be similar to those of private nurseries, in which 80% of the costs will be subsidised in a purchasing of services arrangement. Mothercraft already has a manpower course functioning to train home care workers.

The two advantages of Family Day Care are said to be (1) the low cost; and (2) a mother "substitute" instead of group care for children under two. In examining these claims we can make use of a Vancouver study done during the summer of 1971 of the already existing British Columbia system of family day care. Family day care is cheaper *for the government* than the care of children in day care centres; especially since infant care is even more costly in personnel and services than other pre-school care. However, the main reason for the low cost is the exploitation of the women who care for the children in their own homes. In the words of the Vancouver study:

It is clear that in paying subsidy rates of \$2.75 per day per child for this baby sitting care as opposed to \$3.50 per day for group care, B.C.'s government believes it is getting a bargain...the true cost of day care is

actually a minimum of \$4.60 a day...all bargains involve extra costs for someone somewhere. Clearly these hidden costs which permit the provincial government's bargain in family day care are borne by family day care workers themselves.

The wage paid to the family day care workers in Vancouver is \$1.02 an hour for the care of a number of children during an average working day of ten hours. Out of this low wage must come the extra costs of the child's food, equipment, extra laundering, power, house depreciation, and repair. Once these costs are taken into consideration, the average wage of the family day care workers was about *half* the minimum wage!

Another argument used by advocates of family day care is that children under two or three are better off with a "mother substitute" than in a group care situation. Based on observations and interviews in family day care homes, the Vancouver group concluded that there was no evidence that children get more individual attention in a family day care setting, where a woman is concerned with maintaining her own home and caring for her own family, than in a day care centre. They found that, with very few exceptions, the care being given children was mere baby sitting involving little stimulation. They conclude that "small groups of babies can certainly be as well cared for in a section of a centre designed for their own age group as they can be in a home -- while a centre has resources which can enrich the babies' environment in ways which the family day care mother cannot.

The argument about mother-substitutes is merely another way of the government saying that mothers have no real business being in the work force if they have husbands to support them. The conception is, therefore, anti-woman as well as being based on inaccurate assumptions. The government is, however, very serious about family day care as the main alternative to mass public care. In spite of the recent expenditure of \$10 million in Ontario for public centres, the capa-

city of these will accomodate only 2,900 more children; the family day care bill passed represents a real threat to the achievement of universal group care.

CO-OPERATIVE DAY CARE CENTRES

A co-op is a service, organized and run by a group of parents with a common need and often a shared philosophy of child care. Co-ops can be "participating", where parents work in centres as volunteers, or "non-participating" where parents are involved only in the administration of the day care centres. In both cases, parents play a continuing role in all important decisions about the centre.

Groups of parents who have initiated co-ops have run up against a number of problems in Ontario. The standards of the Day Nurseries Branch were originally drawn up in the days before parent co-ops to safeguard the public against unscrupulous private operators. Co-op participants agree that minimum health and safety regulations are necessary, but feel that, as parents, *they should be able to choose their own staff regardless of their formal qualifications.* At the moment, the Day Nurseries Branch seems to be adhering rigidly to its own regulations and hindering the development of some co-ops.

Another problem community groups have faced in setting up parent co-ops is the lack of funds. Co-ops are now subject to the same treatment as commercial operators and receive no capital grants at all and are only eligible for operating costs in the form of government subsidies after the centre is licensed. Many groups cannot raise the money necessary to meet the licensing standard and the result has been the failure in the past few years of a number of badly needed centres.

Besides promoting parent control, co-ops have filled an important gap between expensive private day care and unavailable public day care. We do not, however, feel that parent co-operatives can be the basis of a government financed system of day care in our present society. The big strength and weakness of parent co-ops is that they place the burden of organizing facilities on the parents. In a growing number of families, both parents work an eight-hour day, often at very tiring jobs, and simply do not have the time to participate actively in the day care centre. *One result of demanding that day care centres be parent co-operatives would be that the people most in need of day care services -- working parents -- would be the last to obtain them.*

We do feel, however, that parents who have the time and resources to become involved in co-operative day care should not be penalized by inflexible government regulations. Many of the problems could be solved by special government legislation which would distinguish parent co-operatives from commercial day care and allow parents the right to choose their own staff. In addition, we feel that co-operatives (parent, community, or work) should be eligible for capital grants to initiate day care centres, and operating grants on the same basis as public day care.

WORK PLACE DAY CARE

Some trade unionists feel that their locals, too, should be eligible for capital grants and operating costs in the same way as municipal centres. They could then negotiate for the remainder of the capital expenses with the employers. Others argue that industries which employ large numbers of women should be required to set up day care centres in their work places. While agreeing that industry benefits most from the employment of women and should pay much of the costs of day care, there are also disadvantages to locating day care in the typical work place

The biggest danger is that work place day care would be used to meet the needs of the employer rather than the women workers. It could be used to attract women to low paying jobs and could hinder them from transferring to better-paid work. During times of strikes or other labour-management crises, the employers could shut down work place day care and interfere with the fight for better working conditions. And, very likely, businesses providing these "services" would receive government subsidies. Two practical drawbacks in work place day care would be taking children to work on crowded transit and the unsuitable surroundings of many work places for child care.

However, workers in some types of work may decide they prefer work place to neighbourhood care; if, for example, there are suitable parks and facilities present. Their unions might then fight for day care as part of the contract. These efforts should definitely be supported.

But we feel that the majority of parents would prefer day care located in their community. A study undertaken in a west end factory during the summer of 1971 showed that the vast majority of these working women would prefer neighbourhood child care.

TIMES

Most existing day care centres are open from 7:30 am. till 6:00 pm., completely bypassing the needs of many women who begin work before seven and many others who do shift work. According to a 1967 study carried out by Dominion of Bureau of Statistics, 26% of working mothers work during the evening shift. To serve all women, day care centres should be open from 6:00 am. till 12:30 am. every day of the week. For those women who work night shifts, one or more centres in

every area of the city should be open 24 hours a day.

DAY CARE WORKERS

Most day care workers (or nursery school teachers, as they are formally called) now take a 2-year training programme following grade 12 at one or another of the many community colleges. Ryerson has a 3-year course following grade 13 which it is now trying to lengthen to a 4-year degree course.

Mothercraft has had the only infant care training, but this one-year course is considered insufficient for the municipal day nurseries. Now, one of the George Brown courses trains its students to care for children from the age of six months to five years.

Traditionally, the pay in the day care field has been very low. While it is better now than previously, a relatively inexperienced person with *two years post secondary education* still makes only \$4,700 a year in nurseries. To increase qualifications and subsequently pay, the care worker writes examinations. If a day care worker leaves the job, and later returns, she loses her seniority and must begin again at the bottom of the pay scale. One reason for the low renumeration for day care personnel is that it is primarily a woman's field. The few men who do enter it apparently obtain administrative jobs. Jobs which relate to the "mother role" are assumed to be "natural" for women and therefore sufficiently rewarding in themselves.

The exclusion of men from child rearing and early childhood education has another effect. It is one of the long-established methods of stereotyping men's and women's roles in society. Children learn early that for a man to become involved

with child rearing is undignified and "unmanly." In spite of the almost religious adulation heaped on women throughout history for raising children, children really occupy a low priority in our society. Were this not so, child care jobs would not be so poorly paid, discouraging many talented people from entering this field; and women would not be channeled into them with such insistence while being *discouraged* from entering many other fields.

It is in the interests of parents that universal day care exists, and that the quality of that care be high. In this, parents share many interests with day workers. For it is largely these people who must organize and demand better training programmes - ones which do not instill sexist and middle-class values. In addition, they must demand decent pay and jobs upon graduating from their courses.

CONCLUSIONS

Some of the problems and alternatives in the discussion of how to achieve mass day care and why it is needed has been presented in the body of this pamphlet. We have also tried throughout to indicate which choices we think are better than others. At this point, it is perhaps useful to reiterate what, in our view, are the crucial problems and how they possibly could be attacked.

First, Canada needs a long-term plan for building mass day care, with strong federal legislation. A National Day Care Act administered by a child care department committed to building universal day care would probably serve this purpose. We must be on guard against attempts by the federal government to side-step the issue through expanded home care, etc., which would serve to provide stop-gap measures at cheap labour prices.

Secondly, the costs for day care must not be shouldered by working people. The federal government should seek most of the necessary revenue from those large corporate interests, who on the one hand, have made relatively small repayment to the Canadian people for their gains and, on the other hand, benefit considerably from the employment of women.

Third, there must be an extensive network of both infant care, and of after-school programs for youngsters of school age. Also, we feel that day care, for the most part, should be located in the community, except where women specifically wish work place care for their children. The centres should be open at times necessary to meet the needs of all women, such as those who do shift work.

Finally, we should support the demands of child care workers for decent pay, job security, and meaningful training programs.

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